/298 cont./

614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

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1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage" and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after [775] the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine." "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

/299 cont./

614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awãra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigeõ," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bãdejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

614 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the
773 sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bãdejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

614 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between
571 members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin
787 of the O Čera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to
[E92] establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O Čera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/), comes from a subdivision of Bãdejebage Čębegeᵂõge: Iparečeba, of the Bãdejebage Čãbogẽᵂõge, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bãdejeba Čębegeᵂõ had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement.

614 Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an
[787] unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/299 cont./ Colbacchini

614 [114] counts 18 names for the Paiwe, four for the Bokodori, six for the Ki, three for the Bâdejeba, seven for the Âróre, five for the Ewâguddu, eight for the Apibore, etc.... We did not arrive at an equal /300/ number, but as those which we collected on the Rio Vermelho are most often not the same as those which he obtained on the Garças River, it is probable that the true number, expressing the combined whole of different local traditions, is much higher. Moreover, among these names, all do not express rigorously identical traditions. If the Paiwe make use of the names corn, cotton, resin, and tobacco, it is that these plants were born from the ashes of a miraculous child, who in the form of a serpent was conceived by a Paiwe woman. One is hence really in the presence of a commemoration of magical events, in the most general sense of the term.

After this, it is futile to search for another explanation for the origin of the clan eponym than that which is applicable to the collection of names and clan emblems. The eponym is not of a special nature. It only recalls the most striking event, and this is why one finds an illustrious hero just as well as an animal, a plant, or an object. One clan is proud of having brought tobacco to the collectivity, as another recalls that its ancestor was the inventor of the labial pendant. Moreover: this event is not always sufficiently striking to create unanimity among the clan members or among fellow citizens of other clans. Hence the utilization in one village of a name not used elsewhere; hence the secondary divisions of clans.

[175] [187] The maximal expression of the system then would be the following: a philosophical doctrine, based on belief in the reincarnation of the soul in animal form, which took on the quality of a personal revelation for certain individuals, celebrated by their descendants in the form of a commemorative name. It is possible that the Čiba Čera, for example, may have been led to extend to all their descendants the experience of an illustrious ancestor, and may have begun to think that they were all destined to live again in the form of the red arara. But it has not been

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 **Dances.**—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 273 **Beverages.**—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 **Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.**

776 775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 776 A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

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561 **Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture**

The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

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787 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [76] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

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562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only
clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live
every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous im-
pediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.

847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not
yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and
especially of the future mother herself. If, for example,
the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune
in a dream, be i. dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epi-
demics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered
the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately
after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe,
which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the
newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not
reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is
in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can
only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the
women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Bororos, Rio
de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

AFTER BITING FISH, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1964) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

[p. 40-F]

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6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

that they have communications with and influence in the spirit world, and know what is occurring there; and have power to cause and avert evils and calamities. Hence, they are ever on the alert to seize upon every propituous occasion, and even to invent occasions to make merchandise of the superstitious fears of their fellow tribesmen for their own profit and aggrandizement.

As regards the ordinary civilized man, knowledge forces the mysterious, the unknown, the infinite, back from his immediate presence, compelling it to remain at a distance, thus enabling him to pass his days more or less unmindful of its existence. But to the primitive man, with his limited knowledge of the processes of Nature, the world about him is pregnant with mystery; it presses close upon him on all sides and he cannot be indifferent to it. The mysterious—that which is beyond his knowledge—the infinite—literally stares him in the face at every turn, and he is unable to fathom it. Ignorant of causes, he views with superstitious thoughts every event, and everything in Nature that is in any degree unusual or abnormal—everything that seems to project, never so little, beyond the dead monotony of natural phenomena. Indeed, his knowledge is so limited, and his imagination so easily inflamed, that he readily creates for himself all sorts of unusual occurrences and phantasms without any foundation. His imagination is most active during the hours of darkness. Like a timid child, he sees terrifying shapes everywhere. The thunder and lightning, the wind, the sun and the moon in their various phenomena, the cries of birds and beasts, and the direction from which they cry, all convey to his uncultured mind some omen of good or evil. If the *kowi* (a bird) utters its cry at evening from the east, it means that "white man come;" and if from the west, "Bororó die."

Our Bororó friends who crowded about us during the whole of every day, always withdrew from our hut at sunset, retiring to their village, and we usually saw no more of them until daybreak. But late in the evening on two or three occasions, we heard a tramping of barefooted men approaching

/456 cont./

198 Nocturnal howl of Lamantation. Evening after evening, from
224 at least four or five huts, came the incessant howls of lamentation by individual women. These are the wives of men who are on a hunting expedition and are expected back in a few days. Bábela bábela bá.... baba éh. The lament lasts until far into the night; it is scarcely possible for us to sleep. It has a very definite purpose, however. The women say that afterwards, [787] when they lie down to sleep, they will find out in their dreams when their husbands will return. They will know it the next 763 morning. At the moment they are all the more occupied with this matter since the wife of one of the absent ones, the Indian "Coqueiro" (coconut palm), has just died. In the men's house the red covering of the dead has been spread out, a pot and two work-shells of hers have been added; two baris let resound a lengthy song of lament, while a number of mourning women remained in the background.

080 Vesper prayer. At eight o'clock in the evening the "reza," the vesper prayer of the soldiers, takes place. Yesterday we followed the procedure more closely, and, when the horn-player gave his signal, we took our places in front of the prison door in order to watch. Gradually 32 men, besides the ever present guard, gathered at the main house /457/ and "arranged" themselves in two rows, tall and short, as they happened to come, in whatever garb, but each one equipped with his Comblain rifle. The full moon shed its mild light on the strange fellows. Facing them stood two cadets, one of whom read the names by the light of a candle, the other cut himself pieces of sugar cane and sucked contentedly. As soon as a name was called, the bearer answered, sometimes loudly, sometimes softly, depending on his mood, "pronto," "present." To our astonishment, the "pronto" suddenly sounded behind us in a hollow, sepulchral voice issuing from the guardhouse cell; through a crack in the door we were amused to see, from the shadow moving back and forth, how the culprit in a bright light inside was swinging in his hammock.

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans. Every man is believed able to call up any friendly 756 ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and [534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a 846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and [845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old, [304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi- [553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a 854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another [847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide. [862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet- potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat. [855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints [301 herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather 302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When [304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast. [431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]